

Official.

P P. 1.

1922.

DÁIL EIREANN.

(PAIRLIMINT SHEALADACH.)

(Provisional)

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

Mr. Eamon de Valera and others.

DUBLIN:

PUBLISHED BY THE STATIONERY OFFICE.

To be purchased through Messrs. EASON AND SON, LTD.,
40 and 41 Lower O'Connell Street, Dublin.

Printed by Messrs. Alex. Thom & Co., Ltd.

[Price 9d. Net.]

DA
965
D4
C6
1922
12.54
22

PART I.

[In the following correspondence the initials "E" and "E. de V." stand for Eamonn de Valera; "C. O'M" for Cathal O'Murchadha (Charles Murphy, ex-T.D.); "R. O'B" for Riobárd O'Breandáin (Robert Brennan, also referred to as "Bob"); "P.L." for Patrick Little; "E. O'M" for Ernest O'Malley; "A" for Austin Stack, T.D.; "L. O'M" for Liam O'Maoilíosa (Liam Mellows), and "P.J.R." for P. J. Rutledge.]

(Passages in italics represent notes written by hand on the originals.)

(1)

W/A RESULT 17/8/'22.

Informed H. W. Hutchinson should go on with Resolution but not with Clubs and Generally.

C. M.

17/8/22.

See enclosed from Mr. Hutchinson—Comhairle Cheanntair Alban. Have a chat with Paddy Little, too.

I think an Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin would be worth a hundred Dáil meetings.

Ask the members to meet to-day to discuss the matter and communicate decision to Mr. H.

A.

• (2)

Comhairle Cheanntair Alban.

A Chara,

I would like to inform you that the C.C.A. at a meeting held immediately after the attack on the Four Courts decided by 51 to 17 to declare the S.F. Organisation a definitely Republican one. They are anxiously waiting some guidance or instructions from H.Q. as to what should be their future course of action.

My suggestion is that a definite mandate should be given to us in writing from the President, E. de Valera, or from you, authorising us to proceed with the creation of a Republican Organisation with an executive responsible to it with a temporary constitution based roughly on S.F. It will never do for a few individuals to call themselves Cumann na Poblachta, with no organisation, no executive, no mandate, no control. If an organiser is required he should be appointed by the Organisation or at least by the Executive and paid by them. Later it would be quite a reasonable arrangement for H.Q. to appoint a represen-

tative in Scotland such as Art O'Brien in England, and one who could act as liaison Officer between the Army and Political Body if it was intended to continue the former in Scotland—at present our main desire is to have authority—unquestioned—to say that we are the accredited Republican Body in Scotland so that we can collect funds and account for them. If this authority is not given to the only organisation in Ireland or out of it that has remained Republican, then there is no hope of creating an entirely new body, and no chance of raising funds which will be *properly accounted for and sent entirely to the right quarter.*

Is mise,

H. W. HUTCHINSON.

Victoria Hotel, Killiney,

or

4, Arundel Drive, Glasgow.

P.S. In view of suggested resolution *re* Ard Feis, the question of organisation might be held over until the situation is clearer, but some statement should be made that we are not irresponsible.

H. W. H.

(3)

Please send answer to H. W. H., 23, S. St.

P. L.

(4)

Victoria Hotel, Killiney.

A Chara,

Mr. P. J. Little has shown me a letter from the C.C., Blackrock, with a resolution and your advice *re* same—which is the reason I am taking the liberty of enclosing a proposed resolution to be submitted to the Comhairle Cheanntair Alban, and would be glad to have your opinion and comment or any amendments, you might care to make. I can undertake that the C.C.A. will carry out any suggestion made.

Is mise, le meas,

H. W. HUTCHINSON.

permanent

4, Arundel Drive, Glasgow.

(5)

17/8/'22.

C. M.

Please have the enclosed from R. O'B. discussed at to-day's meeting. I know nothing about the matter—the Chief and Cathal must have come to the agreement Bob mentioned, but our prospects were different then.

Anyhow the meeting might consider the matter and you may communicate result to R. O'B.

Mise,

A.

*W/A. result of meeting
to Bob to attend next meeting.*

C. O'M.

(6)

FINE GHAEDHEAL.

THE IRISH RACE.

17 Aug. 1922.

Austin Stack.

A Chara,

Before the present outbreak Mr. de Valera had promised the Committee of this Organisation that he would negotiate for us a loan of £2,000 from the Republican Organisation pending the receipt by us of contributions which we are expecting from America.

The outbreak of hostilities upset these plans, and I am sorry to say we are now practically at the end of our resources.

Mr. Lyons of the A.A.R.I.R. has been appointed Temporary National Secretary for Fine Gaedheal in America and has promised to see that the American contribution to the Organisation will be forthcoming. In the meantime, however, it will be difficult for us to carry on without funds, and I would, therefore, ask you to ascertain if it would be possible for the Republican Party to advance us a temporary loan of £1,000, to be repaid as soon as the first contribution comes from America.

The Chief is very anxious that the Organisation should be kept going, and I know that you will accept assurance that this matter would have been satisfactorily arranged but for the trouble as the Chief and Cathal and Sean T. were in agreement about the matter.

Mise le meas mor,

RÍOBÁRD O BREANDÁIN,

Rúnaire.

(7)

21/8/'22.

To : C. O'M.

A Chara,

I intended sending you a statement *re* F.G. finance, but I hadn't time so far. I am thankful for the offer to defray weekly expense, but that will not solve the difficulty.

Perhaps you could have the question postponed until I have time to send you a statement.

Mise,

R. O'B.

*Agreed and
informed Bob.*

21/8/'22.

(8)

IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.

Field General Headquarters,

30th August, 1922.

To : Eamon de Valera.

A Chara,

Your note of the 18th instant, expressing a desire to meet members of Army Executive before meeting was duly received.

The Executive meeting was not held, as only (owing) to difficulty in travelling only some of the members turned up, and in any case as the military situation improved considerably just previous to it, I did not consider it necessary to hold it. I imagine it will be some time before another meeting is called except some unexpected situation arises which warrants an Executive decision.

I would, however, be only too pleased to have your views at any time on the general situation, and matters arising out of it, and they will receive my earnest consideration.

Mise le meas mor,

(Signed), LIAM LYNCH.

C/S.

Rec'd by E. de V. Sept. 12th.

1. IX.* 1922.

We, the undersigned, request that the Session of the Second Dáil, adjourned to the 30th June, 1922, be convened not later than 12 o'clock noon, on Friday, September 8th, 1922, to receive and consider a detailed Financial Report as promised at a previous Session, as well as Reports from the Minister of Defence and other Departments; to arrange for the overdue publication of past proceedings, and to dispose of its other business.

Seán Ua Ceallaigh (Lughmaidh is Midhe).

Caitlín Bean Uí Cléirigh.

Constance de Markievicz.

Séamus O Riain.

Brian O hUiginn.

Proinnsias O Fathaigh (Gaillimh).

Riobárd Bartún.

Somhairle O Flaithbheartaigh.

Labhrás Mag Fhionnghail.

Seosamh Mac Donnchadha.

C. O Murchadha.

Seán Ua Mathghamhna.

Aibhistín de Staic.

Tomás O Deirig (Muigheo Thiar & Thuaidh).

Philip Shanahan.

Máighréad Bean Uí Phiarais.

(10)

1st Sept., 1922.

3. Summons to Dáil.

The Dáil shall from time to time be convened by the Chairman in such manner as he shall think proper. Every Deputy who has signed the Roll—and no other Deputy—shall be entitled to be summoned, but it shall not be necessary to notify Deputies of any Session of the Dáil of which the date, time and place shall have been determined at a previous Session of the Dáil.

A Chara,

Above is the only order relating to summoning of Dáil in the copy of Standing Orders which I possess. My copy is undated and I am not aware whether any later edition made alterations or additions to above.

Mise, do Chara,

RIOBÁRD BARTÚN.

* (In Original " XI. ").

(11)

6th September, 1922.

To: C. O'M.

Yours received. As regards the Dáil the following suggestion has been made—that it be proclaimed *in advance* by the Army, as an illegal assembly inasmuch as it is summoned by the illegal junta called the “Provisional Government” and inasmuch as the Second Dáil which is the legitimate Parliament and Government of the country has not been dissolved.

This is much more positive and much better than a mere abstention of the Republican members and if we are to be consistent at all it is the attitude we should adopt. We will be at sixes and sevens with one another, I think, if any other policy is adopted. I favour it accordingly. I do not know whether anything which may happen at to-night's interview will change my mind in the matter. Will let you know early to-morrow.

I am trying to get in touch with A.A.C/S. on the matter.

E. de V.,

Per K. O'C.

P.S.

Don't bother about the O'Connor matter further. I am satisfied myself that nothing can come of it at the moment.

Re Dr. Emmett, it is most important that our Party should be represented. I would like to be represented both officially and personally inasmuch as his son wrote to me a number of times and his near friends sent me some of his books. Mrs. de Valera might represent me personally, and I would like if you would see that she gets timely notice.

I am sorry, but it will be impossible for me to see Fr. Mangan.

E. de V.

(12)

Sept. 7.

Personal.

A. Ch. A Chara,

Attached you may read for the party. You will note a change in my decision—I feel this course is the one that will make most rapidly for peace.

Could you have a copy made of this letter and send it to me. I put in the carbon the wrong way. I cursed naturally!

I hope our two Guards got back alright last night. I was anxious about them when I left.

Tell E.D. that he is to tell Rogers to call to-morrow to the office, that I left word last night that I was writing him a letter.

Nothing came of last night's meeting. There is nothing to be gained by my seeing Golden. I met him in Cork. Get proposals put on paper.

I'd like to see S. O'Keeffe (Sean O Cuiv) for a press interview. If you get in touch with him I'll see how it can be arranged. Ask him to send me along "leading questions."

E.

(13)

7th September, 1922.

A Chara,

As regards our attending the meeting of the Dáil on Sat., I have considered the matter and am of opinion that both from the points of view of principle and expediency we as a party should not attend.

1. *The Second Dáil is not dissolved.* It is the sovereign authority in the country in my opinion at this moment. (Members who hold that the violation of the strict letter of the oath by the Pro-Treaty members excludes them from being regarded as members of the Second Dáil will, of course, hold that the sovereign authority is the Second Dáil, composed of the Republican Members only, but our attendance at the Dáil meetings last Session means we waived that position.)

The assembly that is summoned to meet on Sat. does not pretend to be Dáil Eireann—*It is the Provisional Parliament.* It has not been summoned by the proper authority, etc., etc. Then there is the *oath*.

2. So far principle. Now expediency. Our presence at the meeting would only help to solidify all the other groups against us. We would be the butt of every attack. We could not explain—we would be accused of obstructing the business and "talking" when we should "get on with the work."

Our presence there will not promote but rather retard peace.

Finally whatever chance there is of union in our own group it lies more in the direction of abstention than attendance.

3. If we decide then as a party not to go the question remains shall we issue a statement or should the army "Proclaim" the meeting or should we ignore the meeting and say nothing?

Strict principle would dictate the second course, but we are not strong enough to maintain the position it would involve. Besides it is too late to get in touch with Army H.Q. on the matter.

If we issue a statement it will tie our hands and if at a future time a course other than non-attendance should seem wise we might find ourselves precluded from taking it.

4. Hence, summing up, I am in favour of non-attendance. Let them keep guessing as to the reason for the present.

If Mr. Ginnell thinks he should go that will not be any harm, but perhaps an advantage. O'Mahony should certainly go and claim his seat. If he is refused it makes the Prov. Parl. not the Dáil and is a violation of the Pact "subject to" which the elections were decreed.

Do Chara,

(Signed) SAMON DE VALERA.

P.S.

5. American Delegation. I agree with Austin that it is only the Clann and such friends who are likely to be approachable or of any value at the moment. If Sean T. is released he would be the very best in my opinion. If Sceilg is prepared to go, as he has been over the ground before, he would be the next best. Joe Doherty would certainly be a very good companion.

E. De V.

(14)

Sept. 8.

To: C. O'M.

(1) I hope you did not give *out* copies of my letter for the Party. I do not want any communications of mine to fall into the hands of the other side. Enough will reach them verbally.

I meant the letter to be read simply. Thanks for copies.

E.

(15)

11 Sept.

To: C. O'M.

This is no use. If we could maintain a Republican Government—now after what they did on Sat. would be the time to set it up. We can't maintain it I fear.

E.

Sat.—9 Sep.

WHEREAS *the only legal Government of Ireland* is the Republican Government called by that Government of the Irish Republic DAIL EIREANN, and WHEREAS sinister influences external and internal have conspired to destroy and supplant that Government by a British made instrument of Partition and Domination called "The Southern Parliament" alias "The Provisional Government" alias "The Supreme Council of the I.R.B."

AND WHEREAS the Deputies who were sent to London to prepare and conclude a *Treaty* did betray the trust reposed in

them by the faithful members of Dáil Eireann and the Irish People for whom these representatives spoke and acted; we faithful citizens of the Irish Republic here in meeting assembled demand that the second Dáil conclude its work and complete the duty entrusted to it by the Irish people by :—

- (a) Assembling at once despite all obstacles and passing a vote of censure on those members who have betrayed the Republic by giving aid and comfort to the Mutineers *who refused to come back* and submit the agreement presented to them for signing on behalf of the Irish Nation.
- (b) Who signed *not a Treaty* but “ Articles of Agreement ” purporting to make the Irish Nation a vassal of the Imperial British Parliament through the instrumentality of its creature the so-called “ Southern Parliament ” then consisting of Orangemen who had refused to take the oath of Allegiance to the Irish Republic.

We perceive that these Deputies, whether the powers they received were pleni or partial *lost* all these when they agreed to accept the ratification of this instrument of Partition and Domination instead of that of the powers that sent them to London.

ABSOLUTELY convinced that the so-called majority of approval in Dáil Eireann was not a majority in its true and honest sense of *free choice* but a stampede occasioned and caused by means the most vile, despicable and unjust, such as threats, bribery and place hunting,

Now we recognising the fact that these men who elected to take not those who sent them but those who were the internal enemies of our struggle as the Ratifying or Supreme Power there and then rejected Dáil Eireann, and by that very act and *ipso facto* became not plenipotentiaries but *sinopotentiaries* who had by this treachery lost all power or right to speak for any but themselves.

These five men in accepting the “ Articles of Agreement,” instead of the Treaty they were empowered to sign, agreed to go *sub hasta* and become the willing slaves of England. They had no authority to do this, and those who followed them, no matter how many, had no authority to demand that the loyal citizens of the Irish Republic should submit to the dictation of those whom the “ Southern (Partition and Domination) Parliament ” had ratified. Consequently in this matter, where the disobedient members acted against and to the detriment of their head and other members, the word “ Majority ” is an abused cloak used to cover as black a treachery as ever was recorded in the history of Nations. The loyal citizens of the Irish Republic have ample evidence which can be produced to prove that Dáil members were bullied and bribed, duped, deceived and partially dragged

into unwilling acceptance of the "Articles of Agreement." One has only to peruse the speeches of the Deputation who went *sub hasta* to see this. Many of them declare that they do not intend to carry out the contracts which they make; others go so far as to declare that they knowingly commit perjury through human respect or fear of the people. The people have been deceived by an unscrupulous press into thinking that they can obtain peace by acquiescing in slavery and injustice, and the sinister forces that have ever worked against Irish Freedom have once again ensnared the Hierarchy of Ireland and parts of America and Australia. These efforts, however, will not deceive the loyal citizens of the Irish Republic who count *not heads but reasons*, and no inducements, however tempting, will turn them from their allegiance to the Republic for which Pearse and Plunkett and their companions died, for which Terence MacSwiney starved, and for which Kevin Barry was swung on high.

Accordingly seeing that those five unfortunate men who were duped or drugged into consenting to sign such a document made themselves by that very consent, traitors to the Government of the Irish Republic which they would destroy and mere serfs of the former Orangemen whose ratification was to be the justification of England's claim in Ireland. We the loyal citizens of the Irish Republic repudiate the acts of men who were not plenipotentiaries but sinepotentiaries, having by their own act in selecting the British-made instrument of Partition and Domination rejected the authority of Dáil Eireann and its head, and thereby rendered themselves without any power (for they could not have power from that which they denied had the supreme power to give power), accordingly we demand that the faithful Deputies of the Republican Government—Dáil Eireann—at once summon the second Dáil and complete the duty which was entrusted to them by the people of Eireann, viz. :—

To guard the Republic and administer its affairs we demand this with all deferential respect but with all firmness because the military junta which has set up an Army and Navy to terrorise our people who remained faithful have also seized upon the means of inter-communication and our opportunity of interpreting ourselves to ourselves and the other Nations of the earth.

Not only have those who unjustly claim to be the Government attacked the loyal soldiers of the Republic with "foreign" arms and foreign gunners, but they have also killed the Minister of Defence, the Deputy for Roscommon (South) and many gallant soldiers and citizens, and they now assail us, the loyal citizens of the Republic, with most horrible calumnies and charges of crime. In fact they impute to the faithful citizens the very crimes of which they themselves are the perpetrators.

Hence we demand of the loyal Deputies of the Republican Government a strong vote of censure on the traitors and we

feel that this assertion of our position and our rights—stifled as it may be by the corrupt press—will stand in history and before the world as our protest against the tyranny worse than Nero's, a treachery worse than Castlereagh's, we feel that our Government or those members who yet remain true to our Republic owes this to us the loyal citizens of the Republic.

(2) We demand that in the interests of peace and order that a President be at once chosen to succeed the unfortunate President who is now dead. This act can alone give to those who have subscribed money and purchased bonds of the Irish Republic, a guarantee that the Republic still lives, and prevents the military junta calling itself a Government from seizing upon the funds now lodged in the name of the Republic in certain banks in U.S.A.

Only one day remains to do this work and we hereby give notice that unless the deputies elect a President before the pretended Government by chicanery places us in a false light we shall be compelled to take what means we can to prevent the said pretended Government from assembling, and are forced to look upon the deputies who neglect electing a President as too pusillanimous to deserve further support.

The action must be immediate, imperative is the need, short is the time to do what must be done to *preserve the continuity* of the Republic.

(3) We as loyal citizens of the Republic here assembled demand *that the deputies, who have not rendered themselves incapable* of sitting, by taking up arms or abetting those who have taken up arms against the Republic, then at once proceed to summon the third Dáil. We submit that the proper time for calling the Dáil is Friday, the 8th September, thus we can forestall the pretenders and let the citizens of the Republic and the world know that any assembly that claims to be a Government, not convened by a loyal citizen of the Irish Republic, is a monstrosity and an abominable attempt at usurpation. The Second Dáil ends on Friday, and if this Third Dáil is called for Saturday, no matter where held, or no matter how many are there, since such a circumstance as this was never contemplated, when making the quorum twenty, that Dáil shall be the Dáil of the Republic, at which every Deputy who cannot be there in body, because of force used against him, shall be there in spirit.

Signed, on behalf of the Army,

OSCAR TRAYNOR.

BARNEY MELLOWES.

EAMON CORBETT.

LIAM PILKINGTON.

TOMÁS DE BARRA.

PEADAR O DOMHNAILL.

On behalf of the Citizens of the Irish Republic,

AINE NI RATHGHAILLE.

NEL BEAN MHC AMHLAOIBH.

(16)

11/9/'22.

To: E. de V.

Enclosed you have copy of notes which you sent me for Gaffney—you might like to have it. I gave him a couple of typed copies and other documents which you mentioned.

I note what you say about the document for maintaining the Republic. I mean the signed document which you returned me. Can I show your note on document to anyone?

C. O'M.

(17)

You may show the note if you please.

I have opposed the setting up of a rival Govmt. solely because of our obvious inability to maintain it.

The fact that the new assembly is not the Dáil gives us the best chance we have got yet. I never felt until now that we should proclaim a Republican Govmt. If we were now in the position we were in when we held a portion of Cork I'd certainly favour it. But again we cannot maintain it. If the army executive were at hand and would definitely give allegiance to that Govmt. I'd think it wise to try it—but again the inability to maintain it. We can let the matter wait for a few days.

R/12/9/'22.

(18)

To: C. O'M.

Sept. 12, 1922.

A Ch. A Chara.

Miss O'C. will show you a copy of a letter I have just received from Liam Lynch.

This is too good a thing, and won't do.

The position of the political party must be straightened out. If it is the policy of the party to leave it all to the army, well, then the obvious thing for members of the party to do is to resign their positions as public representatives. The present position is that *we* have all the public responsibility, and no voice and no authority.

I am striving to get in touch with some of the Army Executive at hand on the matter. I may have to address a letter to each of them, and a letter to each member of the party also.

If I do not get the position made quite clear, I shall resign publicly.

How many members of the party are available for meetings?

Do Chara,

E. de V.

22 & 23, Suffolk St.,
Baile atha Cliath,
September 13th, 1922.

Phone—Dublin 1143.

To : The Manager,
National Land Bank, Ltd., College Green.

We authorise Brian O'Higgins (specimen signature at foot hereof) to sign all cheques and to carry out all dealings in connection with the Uphold the Republic Fund, until further notice.

AIBHISTÍN DE STAIC.

SEÁN Ua CEALLAIGH.

Specimen Signature : BRIAN O hUIGINN.

(20)

September Thirteenth,
1 9 2 2.

To : C. O'M.

I received your memo of yesterday.

Statement. Yes, undoubtedly that statement, as comprehensive and as succinct as possible, should be prepared and issued immediately. The Publicity Department and Sceilg, say, should draft it in the first instance.

Governing Authority. You may read my note of yesterday re the letter of Liam Lynch to the Party, if you wish.

The position, as I see it, is this :—

Either (a) The Republican Party must take control, acting as legitimate Dáil.

(b) The Army Executive take control and assume responsibility.

(c) A Joint Committee be formed to decide policy for both.

Course (a) would constitutionally be the correct one, and most consistent with our whole position. Of all times since the signing of the "Treaty" the present is the most suitable time. I am against it, however.

1. Because we, no more than the others, could get from the Army that unconditional allegiance without which our

Government would be a farce. Rory O'Connor's unfortunate repudiation of the Dáil, which I was so foolish as to defend even to a straining of my own views in order to avoid the appearance of a split, is now the greatest barrier that we have.

2. Because even if we had the allegiance we have not the military strength to make our will effective, and we cannot, as in the time of the war with the British, point to authority derived from the vote of the majority of the people. We will be turned down definitely by the electorate in a few months' time in any case.
3. Because, if challenged, we could not as a Government refuse to let the people decide by vote as between the two Governments. If the people were to be given the decision that meant the worst of all, turning down the Republic.

Course (b). Of the three I prefer this. It is most in accord with fact. But then the Army Executive must publicly accept responsibility. There must be no doubt in the minds of anybody on the matter. This pretence from the pro-Treaty Party that we are inciting the Army must be ended by a declaration from the Army itself that that is not so. The natural corollary to this is that we, as a political party, should cease to operate in any public way—resign in fact. This is the course I have long been tempted to take myself, and were it not that my action might prejudice the cause of the Republic, I'd have taken it long since. Our position as public representatives is impossible.

Course (c). I fear this is impracticable. The political party has to justify itself in a way that is not expected from the Army. If the Army wishes to select some of the personnel of the party for its Executive, and they are willing to act, well and good—but I am afraid the task of riding two such horses as the Party and the Army will be too much for any Executive.

(21)

Sept. 14.

To: C. O'M.

Re DÁIL FUNDS.

I notice new trustees are appointed. A statement from the party should contain the fact that the new Dáil is not the legitimate successor to the old Dáil and calling upon the Trustees to be faithful to their trust and not to hand over to the Trustees of the Parliament of Southern Ireland monies which were sub-

scribed to maintain the Republic. The funds are the property of the Second Dáil which has not yet been constitutionally dissolved. The need of a controlling executive in supreme command of the Republican movement is more and more urgent.

E. de V.

Sceilg should get Finnerty to stop the others getting the U.S.A. Funds.

(22)

To : Ernie O Máille.

See enclosed from Father O'Meara, who is a brother of Stephen M. O'Meara. Apparently their brother Alphonsus was in the Free State Army and has disappeared. Would it be possible to trace what happened him? I suppose you would not have any record of prisoners in our hands. Please set inquiries going and let me hear from you as soon as possible.

C.O'M.

14/9/'22.

Am not in touch with this area ; am sending a message down to-morrow.

E. O'M.

(23)

(Undated.)

- (1) The Treaty is not yet at any rate a legal fact, for not ratified by either Ireland or England. It may be turned down by England yet. The Republic is the existing State therefore. Griffith agreed that this was so.
- (2) A *Truce* between both sections of the army arranged and ratified by the Dáil at second or third last meeting.
- (3) A Pact for Coalition Government and in case of breakdown *appeal to the people on adult suffrage* was made *law* by Decree of the Dáil. At England's bidding it was flagrantly violated.
- (4) The Government of Ireland was the whole of Dáil Eireann. The Cabinet was constitutionally only an Executive Committee. The assumption of power to levy armies, raise loans, monies, and make war, destroying life and property, was illegal and unconstitutional, and a *usurpation*. The power assumed was not derived from the Irish people or the Irish Parliament. The Provisional Government was a "junta" using British powers, not Irish—and acting in an arbitrary, irresponsible manner, and broke Irish law (Decree of Dáil Eireann).

The atrocities of the "Crown Forces" should also be exposed, e.g., the murders, denial of inquests, etc., the murder gang, and the British Secret Service report how my death was to be attributed to the Republicans.

The censorship of the Press should also be dealt with, and the list of instructions given by the Provisional Government read out.

A demand should be made to abolish the "Ministry of Publicity." Its only function now is a party function—misleading the public.

The suppression of the Supreme Court and arrest of one of the Judges the most flagrant act of all.

(24)

(Undated.)

- (1) Intimate to Mr. de Valera that we are unanimously of opinion a statement should be issued almost immediately—with the authority of the military and political arms of the Republic—pointing out our position, protesting against the violation of the Pact, emphasising material facts regarding bombardment of Four Courts, refuting as briefly as possible the misrepresentation in the Provisional Parliament, taking our stand on the Second Dáil, which is an All-Ireland Parliament, and so safeguarding the funds of the Republic both here and in America, intimating that we regard the so-called Free State Parliament as a usurpation, and declaring our determination to maintain the Dáil which Eoin McNeill has refused to convene.
- (2) To discuss with the military chiefs the feasibility of setting up a joint political and military Executive.
- (3) To arrange about convening the Second Dáil at the earliest feasible opportunity.
- (4) To decide our attitude towards possible early bye-elections.

to maintenance of B.E., Money, Trade, Power, etc. (Curzon on India.) Extracts Roger Casement's articles on "Ireland, Germany and Freedom of the Seas," published first in Irish Review, 1913 or '14. What Ireland's connection with Imperialism (however much the apparent material gain) means to future. No use freeing Ireland to set her up as a State following in the footsteps of all the rotten nations in Europe to-day—what Ireland's of Imperialism means, etc., etc.

(b) Work of the Republic, to show it was—and is—a Reality. This is an antidote to the hypocrites who now pretend that it never existed, some pamphlets have already been published by direction of Dáil last year showing how Republic functioned. Courts, Land Settlements, etc. Decrees. These were sold for 6d. each, I think. They could be reproduced or used again. The "Bulletin" published by D/Publicity all through war up to signing of Treaty does, I think, contain heaps of dates.

(c) *Hierarchy*: Invariably wrong in Ireland in their political outlook—against the people in '98. Frs. Murphy (2), Roche, Kearns excommunicated by the then Bishop of Ferns—against Emmet, "condemning outrage"—against Young Ireland, "Godless young men," support of Sadlier and Keogh—against Fenians; Dr. Cullen, Bishop Moriarty: "Hell not hot enough or eternity long enough"—against "Plan of Campaign"—against Sinn Féin (early days, when it was milk and water)—against Irish Vols.—support England in European War, 1914—morally to blame for the deaths of thousands of Irish youths in France, Flanders, Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, Macedonia, etc. Nothing can condone this. European War a hideous holocaust on altar of Mammon; a struggle between Europe for power—Irish Hierarchy blood-guilty. Hierarchy against Easter Rising, 1916; denunciation of Pearse, etc. (Pearse, the great example of Christian idealism.) Hierarchy only opposed Conscription when forced to do so by attitude of people. Against I.R.A. during Terror. Bishop Cohalan's excommunication decree of December, 1920. Hierarchy's abandonment of principle, justice and honour by support of Treaty. Danger to Catholicism in Ireland from their bad example—their exaltation of deceit and hypocrisy, their attempt to turn the noble aspect of Irish struggle and bring it to level of putrid politics, their admission that religion is something to be preached about from pulpits on Sundays but never put into practice in the affairs of the Nation, their desertion of Ulster, etc. "Sceilg" could, I think, do the above best. Excuse change of writing. I had to get the above copied by someone else from a letter I am sending to Sighle, lest anything should happen this one. I will close up now, but will continue ideas on propaganda and other things to-morrow.

Regards.

(Signed) L. O'M.

29/8/1922.

Continuing mine of 26th inst. (No. 1). Before doing so, however, I wish to point out that the matter of establishing a Pro. Repub. Govt. has become imperative because of the probability of the English taking a hand sooner or later. No doubt they will continue to make use of Irishmen as long as the latter can be duped or dazzled by the Free State idea; but even to this there will be an end, and then the British will, by using the arguments against Republicans that F.S. now use, cloud the issue greatly. For the British to calumniate Republicans and belittle their cause by besmirching them is one thing; but for F.S. (and supposed potential Republicans) to do it is another—and different, and worse thing. Because the British will not use British arguments to cloak their actions, but Irish ones “out of our own mouths,” etc. Therefore an object—a target—must be presented for the enemy (F.S. or British) to hit at—otherwise it becomes a fight (apparently) between individuals. Hence the necessity of getting the Provisional Republican Government established at once.

3. Propaganda.

(d) *Dev's Work in America*: The time has now come for informing the Irish people what miracles De Valera accomplished there. The attempt to belittle his work for Eire both here and abroad must be defeated. Dealing with America is a stupendous work, and tons of data is needed, but it will be labour well worth performing. Show how it was the Republic (and the Republic only) that gained such sympathy for us there; that no other cause would have got the slightest hearing—that De V. changed an ignorant and either apathetic or hostile people into genuine sympathisers in two years. He made the name of Ireland respected where it was despised, and the Irish Cause an ideal where it had been regarded as political humbug. Fr. Magennis could do a very fine opening chapter describing the state of the Irish movement in America and the attitude generally of America and Americans towards Ireland at the time of Dev's coming.

(e) *Life of Cathal Brugha*: A brief (but not scrappy) account of above would, I think, do a lot of good. The account in Bulletin (Catholic) by Sceilg is splendid, but not detailed enough. The underlying idea should be that of “Principle”—a word that at one time meant everything to (and conveyed everything of) the I.R.B.

(f) *Cardinal Mercier*: As an offset to their Lordships, a fine pamphlet on the example set for Ireland by Cardinal Mercier—his acts and his words—could be written.

(g) *South Africa*: The danger to Ireland of Irish allowing their work to be patterned on example of South Africa. After Treaty of Veer and later formation of United South Africa (all Boers

still *saying* they were Republicans at heart) the real Republicans found an obstacle stood between them and the British—their own. Parallel with Ireland, Smuts and Botha—Collins and Griffith, DeLarey—H. Boland and Cathal Brugha, De Wet, etc., “five years” fallacy of F.S. Repubs.

(4) *Courts* : Except for the Supreme Court, the Repub. Courts should be maintained. Nothing conveyed proof in America of existence of Republic here so much as the establishment and work of Courts.

(5) *Fianna* : We must concentrate on youth—salvation of country lies in this—both boys and girls. Fianna never got proper help or encouragement. Fianna ideal can save future. The reason for so many young soldiers going wrong is that they never had a proper grasp of the fundamentals. They were absorbed into movement and fight—not educated into it. Hence no real convictions.

(6) *Food Control* : Food supply will present a serious problem soon. The obstruction of roads, railways and communications will be intensified; towns will feel it the worst. Some plan of rationing will have to be thought out and some person (a Labour man for preference) put in control. If the Republic is to win out against Free State and British we shall have to face the idea of people suffering many privations. If scheme worked out ahead it will not be so bad; in fact, it would compel a change from present wretched economic outlook and make them rely on own resources. Many things that are now looked on as necessities would have to be done without—tea, sugar, foreign flour, etc.—but oatmeal, oatflour, barley and other wholesome foods would be used. As a matter of fact, Ireland has suffered nothing (comparatively speaking) either during Great War or our War. English people (and English women) cheerfully put up with severe deprivations, and we Irish think our Cause worth putting up with anything. But do we? Judging by the whines and grumbles, one is tempted sometimes to say “Certainly not.”

(7) *Communications* :

(a) *Abroad* : Routes and men must be sought out and maintained, at all cost, for the following : England, Scotland, America, Germany, Belgium, France, Russia, Italy.

(b) *Home* : Very essential.

(8) *Foreign : India* : Isn't the time approaching when we should be in closer touch?

(9) *Bye-Elections* : Don't suppose these can take place under present conditions—but we must have our eyes open.

(10) *Bishops* : Can anything be done by a number of clergy coming together?

11/9/1922.

A.S.

A Chara,

Apropos to what I wrote to you some time ago : the events of the last few days have, I think, made it more clear that what I suggested should be done—it has done more, it has made it imperative. The F.S. have shown by Saturday's performance that it was the Provisional Parliament provided for by terms of F.S. Act, and *not* the third *Dáil* that met. Therefore, the question arises at once—Where is the Government of the Republic? It must be found. Republicans must be provided with a rallying centre, and the movement with a focussing point.

The unemployment question is acute. Starvation is facing thousands of people. The Official Labour movement has deserted the people for the flesh-pots of Empire. The F.S. Government's attitude towards striking postal workers makes clear what its attitude towards workers generally will be. The situation created by all these *must be utilised for the Republic*. The position must be defined :

FREE STATE—Capitalism and Industrialism—Empire.

v.

REPUBLIC—Workers—Labour.

In haste,

L. M. (L. O'M.)

